

Captain to my lecture

My own cartoon:
"Ideology aside, what do
you believe in?"

Ideology of Popular Protest

Green Bay, Wisconsin 17/10/86.

I - INTRO. Ideology has long history, not all of it relev. to my purpose today:

1. In my book The Ideology of Popular Protest, I have been

~~is~~ mainly concerned with

1) Ideology (ideas) underlying activist popular protest - i.e.
not passive acceptance, as e.g. O. Lewis' critique of poverty
peasants, workers

2) Popular = common people in a transitional society - i.e. in stage
between pre-industrial & industrial society - i.e. in Europe & Russia

~~1700-1850~~ Society in process of transformation e.g. Eng. France 1700/1850
Destutt de Tracy, Herbert Spencer

2. Marx & Engels 1st concerned with Ideology of protest (conflict).
in German Ideology & Manifesto (end 1850)

But 2 emphases here not to my purpose -

① Polarized society between Capital & Labour - with intermediate
classes - peasants / shopkeepers / artisans in process of
annihilation & with no ideology of their own

② Ideology as a weapon of single class rule or
seen as "false reality" in German history, a false reality
imposed (tho' not necessarily forcible means) on the dominated class.
tho' self-formation the myth feared of the workers an advantage.
The Ideology gets off to a bad start

Admittedly, in Manifesto M & E recognize need for workers - class of the future -
to have a time consciousness of their own - but no clear statement made
(tho' often hints here & there) as how this transition for the one to the other
be achieved. So I guess we need Marxist investigation.

3. In 20th century study of ideology of protest cannot justify Marx's followers -
Hungarian LUKACS
Italian GRAMSCI

1) LUKACS in history class consciousness class does not help much, to resolve the problem
for the time (though being in a largely historical) It remains axiomatic that
society has to be divided into 2 classes pitted between Capital & Labour,
& Ideology has to be a reflection or the other with no intermediate stage -
i.e. either a Bourgeois Ideology of "False Consciousness" or a new "Time consciousness" of
the rising class of workers - But how make the transition? In practice, concludes

Locke, only by a consolidation of capital, in which workers stand as silent spectators on the sidelines — in fact social rank the small minority who see to it that an elite Calvin's Elect. While the majority remain bound by "false consciousness" of Capitalist. In my view, this is an elitist & historical concept that targets the worker as a victim of the historical process.

2) GRAMSCI Mussolini's prisoner in 1920-1920's. Saw it differently and was in 3 important respects, makes the "break-through" —

(1) Italy of the 1920's NOT a static hierarchical society — a summary of "traditional classes" of peasants, shopkeepers, craftsmen — neither workers nor capitalists — continue to be a reality where ideological concerns must be taken account of.

(2) Subjective he has — just division between "elect" & "non-elect" but not static — not static — but with important connecting links between the two with a continuous movement between the 2 by education, struggle & experience.

(3) & he envisages a deliberate activity of "organic" intellectual whose job he sees it to overcome the "hegemony" of the rulers and to create a counter-consciousness on the part of the common people as a prelude to taking over in their rule.

This historical process not ignored but come to terms with.

Such ideas seem to me important for looking at Ideology of Protest in a transitional society that is in process of being fully integrated.

So much for my introduction; & so much for the part at which I take off.

II. So my subject is Ideology of Popular Protest — particularly (how not exclusive) in a transitional, or pre-industrial society.

1. In such a society — popular ideology cannot simply be the property of any one single class — whether a dominant or a subject one — but a Mixture of 2 elements & 2 components.

(1) The more structured beliefs — religion, political eg systems of ideas like Popular Sovereignty — Rights of Man — Law of the People — Christianity — Nationalism — Socialism — in fact.

(in some people's view) The only ideology worthy of the name heretic (2) But also there came from outside devised & intellectual or thinkers & passed on to the common people from outside — things & doctrines of books or sermons from the pulpit — I call these "denied" ideas.

but ② What about the ideas & beliefs peculiar to the common people themselves - learned & experience or folk-lore - is a "mother's milk" type of ideology? Is not learned in books or sermons or from outside? Some call these ideas "common sense", Gramsci called them "inorganic", Bushman (like Vovelle) speak of "mentalités".

These I call "inherent ideas" i.e. learned or experienced from within the group, & taught or at mother's knee.

W.E.P.T.'s more sophisticated "monoculture" in 19th C.

Typical of them in the transitional society are notions of the "just price", the "just wage": "justice" in distribution of land that was popular protest in forests, wage movements, land seizures that characterize such periods of transition.

I, what I am calling popular ideology is a mixture of these 2, of which the first becomes grafted onto the second.

2. But we walk of Babylon between the 2: between the "inherent" & the "denied".

① Some denied ideas may have binding & assimilation, "inherent" in another sense & this means

e.g. Christopher Hill's myth of the "Norman Yoke".

Origins: Survival of a race (17th C. Eng.) In Chartist; often disappears in Saxons.

2) Also need for "denied" to be grafted onto "inherent" need for some common affinity - i.e. RECEPTIVITY & grow by resonance with popular.

Otherwise REJECTION like rejection of transplant of a heart or kidney. Examples: (1) Spanish peasants unlike Irish, Polish, Italian. unable to accept & adapt norms of "Rights of Man"; Sovereignty of people after 1793. Why?

or at high social level (2) Felix RAAB, Machiavelli unacceptable to Elizabethan & Commonwealth; acceptable to some 19th C. "Young" (Hans) to Restoration.

3) Also possibility of half-digestion, leads to among mixture & confusion - (Gramsci's "contradictory ideas" within pop. ideology)

e.g. ① Hobbes: Italian Brigand leader of 1860s - [Quoth]

"Our with the traitors; not with the Beggars."

Long live the Fair Kingdom of Naples with its most religious, Sovereign; Long live the Vicar of Christ Pius IX; Long live our ardent Republican brothers!

② Contradiction in divided loyalties - Declaration of the Ruler "I have died for my death to his Ministers!"

e.g. "Don't fire on us - you are shedding the blood of Alexander Nikolayevich, our Tsar"

(P10)

is not purely "from above"
or "from below" but both

4

4) also 2-way traffic between 2 types of ideology, of which neither wholly superior to the first, even tho' more structured & sophisticated:

for structured ideology a more sophisticated & distillation of the "inherent" or "ideology from below".

Eg. Marx: the Blue Book of the Factory Inspectors in B-M & sending back in theoretical form ideas learnt from workers' own experience.

or Blanc & Proudhon, after Lyon in 1830, learnt from make them from workers' experience in struggle for "mutualité" (association).

3. A further question -

The practical uses of ideology as an weapon in instrument of PROTEST:
Thm 1) "inherent" ideology has its evident limitations.

American "just price" "just wage", fair share "in land etc." as examples of practical approach. But so far and no further.

Thm 2) EPT's "Hebrew culture" enabling resistance to total penetration of gentile culture in 1st C.

(2) Richard Hoggart: example of degree of liberalism - w/c culture - to resist complete indoctrination & 'alien' bourgeois press.

example of "Yellow Press" - eg the Sun in Eng today - eg "page 3" & "Racing".

But for further step - to make a fundamental, revolutionary change.

This "inherent" ideology & culture not enough.

There need to graft onto "inherent": the "derived" element in ideology - from outside - such ideas as Pop sovereignty, Right of the

Soviet Union - which French Russian, etc. - with full popular participation - not been in possible

Realisation with a form popular base - eg French Russian or Chinese - not been in possible.

4. This raises problem of Transmission of "derived" ideas

By what process?

1) Can they be spontaneously generated & automatically engendered in receiving group?

New left may say yes - EPT includes transmission (socialism is a direct extension of experience of T.H. & strike activity, eg) - but experience says No.

I believe justifies Marx & Lenin in saying on appearance "elitist" No!

This has to be a conscious process of education from without not thru direct experience alone.

① In 1890s Marx met Second International to create a common hegemony. ② Lenin's What is to be Done? (1902) to create a common hegemony. ③ Gramsci: conscious use of organic intellectual.

[illegible]

② Example of best type of all revolutions - The French of 1789-99.

① Basic source (A Rousseau -

① Basic source - (A) Rousseau - Sovereignty of people, democracy
(a) Montesquieu - Separation of powers in a tripartite system
(b) Voltaire - Progress of enlightened monarchy

Philosophers' works read in salons

Payments & Revenues (1750 -)

Rev. Tungensis of 1789-93

⑩ Primer: slogan + new vocabulary - "la nation"
franc élar: "citoyen" - ^{one's} ~~not a~~ grandchild

but evidently not repeal ^(22 Apr 1794) the Proscription ^(21 April 1794) provincial towns, 1794

(2) Secondary: in many large post-colonial (e.g. since 1789) high structural content.

Sovereignty of Pope Right of Man of 1289 Right of Man of 1289

(3) Relativ importance Ans: 2791, 1793

(b) Places of transmission

Markets & shops (mostly for non residents)

Workshops (master craftsman to journeyman)

Public square
Tom hall reading

Army newspapers (v. Père Duchesne) in 1793.

Always a dual process of adoption + assimilation

inter adaptation to social needs

The "message" doesn't stay the same for different

as the reverse transformation of order is caused by crystallization

2g meaning of "Third Estate" not same to 18th c. as to 19th c.

Delivery information to merchant or shipkeeper 12 b

Equality - ^{Small children} Bumsing and letter ^{for} equality at law - (pro.)
 should all want ^{each} ^{to} ^{have} ^{the} ^{same}

as well.

Similarly. Pop sovereignty - meant parliamentary democracy
to Jacobins - ren bourgeoisie
part to their journey in Paris demands direct democracy
& Paris section radicals, instructs if deputies
obey recall if they did not respect their work.

Why this distinction?

Because of non-existence of inherent ideas ^{Based}
in ^{different} ~~different~~ ^{experience of} different groups.

5) To final mixture depends on 3 elements:

- ① Original "inherent" beliefs of recipients -
eg just wage / just price for small businesses etc & wage earners
compared with (market values demanded by merchants & producers)
- ② Nature of transmitted "desire" ideas
which could be either
(a) forward-looking i.e. demands reforms - ^{for. of Papal} ^{Protectors}
(b) backward-looking or "conservative" - ^{King & Church} ^{for herons & vendée}
- ③ Circumstances prevailing

Have also explain why 2 groups with same "inherent" beliefs -
eg hymnais craftsmen & Parisian soldiers
could adopt different sets of desired ideas -
as in Paris & provinces in Civil War of 1793? why
Nantes split between followers of Jacobins & Paris
future of Girondins & Revolution in d. & west?

III. A final but an important question.

What happens to remnant revolutionary spirit & energy - modeled
as in the case of French Rev of 1789-99 (or more precisely 1795 when it really stops)
over long period of 6 years? (much shaken 1830, 1848, 1871).

- a) Does it disappear? (but foreign exchange or counter-revolution?)
- b) Does it go underground - or resurface at some favorable moment?
- c) If it re-emerges, does it change its form?

The short answer is (c) - it does re-emerge - in 1830, 1848, 1871 - but with
a different message addressed to a different set of people as
social changes which that contained a prospect to stop